

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 03074 100624Z
ACTION EUR-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /004 W
-----057232 100707Z /17
R 091420Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9409

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 3074

FOR ANDREWS FROM SIMONS, EUR/EE THREE COPIES ONLY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: OGEN RO

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. VLAD GEORGESCU: STATUS REPORT. ON APRIL 26 (AND THUS BEFORE RECEIPT OF STATE 107669), PEGGY AND I HAD DINNER WITH GEORGESCU AT THEIR HOME. HE STILL HAD NO RESPONSE TO HIS APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO DEPART FOR THE WOODROW WILSON FELLOWSHIP, SUBMITTED FEBRUARY 20; WAS CURIOUS TO KNOW WHETHER CASE HAD BEEN RAISED DURING CEAUSESCU VISIT; AND WAS AGITATED, IN SUBTERRANEAN WAY, WITH WHAT I WOULD CALL KIND OF INCIPIENT DESPERATION. HE WAS INCLINED TO SEE VISIT AS NOW-OR-NEVER PROPOSITION FOR HIM, AND SUGGESTED THAT VOW OF SILENCE HE GAVE AUTHORITIES LAST YEAR IS STARTING TO FRAY, FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW, SINCE THEY ARE FAILING HONOR THEIR COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE PROPER SCHOLARLY FACILITIES, INCLUDING PERMISSION TO TRAVEL. AT SAME TIME, HE RECOGNIZED THAT MATTERS OF THIS KIND MOVE SLOWLY AT BEST, AND NOTED HIS SURVEILLANCE HAD ENTIRELY LIFTED DURING LAST TWO MONTHS, I.E. APPROXIMATELY SINCE TIME WOODROW WILSON ORIGINAL INVITATION RECEIVED. HE HAD NOW RECEIVED PAPERS REVISING INVITATION TO JUNE, AND ACCEPTED DELAY. HOWEVER, HE AND WIFE HAD NOW MADE PRIVATE DECISION NOT TO RETURN IF PERMISSION TO DAPRT GRANTED, AND ALTHOUGH HE INTENDED TO KEEP SILENCE UNTIL SOME

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CONCRETE RESULT EMERGED FROM CURRENT SITUATION, HE FELT HE HAD TO DO SOMETHING TO MOVE THINGS ALONG, AND PLANNED TO TALK TO HIS CASE OFFICER ABOUT SITUATION (IN OBLIGATORY REPORTING VISIT FOLLOWING DINNER WITH US).

2. GEORGESCU CAME TO SEE ME AT EMBASSY MAY 8 TO DESCRIBE HIS MEETING WITH CASE OFFICER, WHOM HE IDENTIFIED AS LIEUTENANT-GEN-

ERAL NAMED VASILE IN CHARGE OF INTERIOR MINISTRY'S DIRECTORATE OF PENAL INVESTIGATIONS. HE WAS INTELLIGENT, TOUGH MAN, WHOM GEORGESCU KNEW WELL FROM LAST SPRING'S INVESTIGATION, AND THEY SPENT TWO HOURS TOGETHER, DURING WHICH VASILE WALKED BACK FROM NEAR-NO TO SOMETHING OF A PLEA FOR AMERICAN ASSURANCES CONCERNING GEORGESCU'S BEHAVIOR IN U.S. ONCE HE WAS OUT. (HE SUSPECTED VASILE IS NOW IN DE FACTO CHARGE OF CASE, SINCE FIRST DEPUTY INTERIOR MINISTRY, LT.-GEN. PLESITA, HIS PERSONAL INTERROGATOR, WAS SWITCHED IN MARCH RESHUFFLE FROM COUNTERESPIONAGE TO LESS EXALTED TASKED LIKE SUPERVISION OF FIREMEN.)

3. AS GEORGESCU DESCRIBED IT, CONVERSATION WENT AS FOLLOWS. VASILE, WHILE CAREFULLY AVOIDING FLAT REFUSAL, FIRST SUGGESTED GEORGESCU WRITE HIS "AMERICAN FRIENDS" TO SAY HE WAS TOO BUSY THIS YEAR, BUT MIGHT COME NEXT YEAR, AND SUGGESTED SPECIFIC LIST OF TOPICS HE SHOULD WORK AND PUBLISH ON IN ROMANIA, PRESUMABLY TO DEMONSTRATE BONA FIDES: HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA, PERMANENCE OF ROMANIAN PRESENCE THERE, ETC. GEORGESCU RESPONDED THAT IF HE WROTE AMERICAN FRIENDS, IT WOULD BE TO SAY HE WAS BEING REFUSED PERMISSION TO DEPART, AND THAT HE COULD GIVE NO GUARANTEES CONCERNING WHAT HE WOULD DO AFTER DEPARTURE (SINCE HE DID NOT KNOW HIS OWN INTENTIONS). VASILE THEN SUGGESTED HE SEND HIS BOOK (QUANTITATIVE HISTORY OF ROMANIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT BETWEEN 15TH AND 18TH CENTURIES, READY FOR SOME TIME, WHICH GOR HAS REFUSED TO PUBLISH) AND ARTICLES ON TOPICS LIKE THE ABOVE, "BY DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS," FOR PUBLICATION IN CONFIDENTIAL

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WEST. WHEN GEORGESCU REPEATED HIS INABILITY TO GIVE GUARANTEES FOR HIS BEHAVIOR, VASILE FINALLY CAME TO WHAT GEORGESCU CONSIDERED REAL POINT: PERHAPS "AMERICAN FRIENDS" COULD OFFER SUCH GUARANTEES, SINCE IT IS AFTER ALL TRUE, HE ADMITTED, THAT GOR MIGHT NOT BELIEVE GEORGESCU WHATEVER HE SAID HERE. (I INTERJECTED AT THIS POINT THAT IT WOULD BE AT LEAST AS DIFFICULT FOR AMERICAN SPONSORS TO GIVE GUARANTEES AS IT WOULD BE FOR HIM, AND HE SAID HE KNEW IT.)

4. IN GEORGESCU'S VIEW, HIS SECURITY HANDLERS ARE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO GET RID OF HIM, AND WOULD PREFER TO SEE HIM GONE--THE MORE SO, HE FEELS, IN VIEW OF PLESITA'S DEMOTION, IN WHICH INEFFECTUAL HANDLING OF DISSIDENTS, INCLUDING GOMA AS WELL AS GEORGESCU, PLAYED A ROLE--BUT CANNOT SEND A RECOMMENDATION TO THIS EFFECT UP TO CEAUSESCU WITHOUT SOME AMMUNITION CONCERNING HIS POST-DEPARTURE ACTIVITIES. HIS REFUSAL TO PROVIDE IT, IN OTHER WORDS, PUTS THEM IN GENUINE QUANDARY, AS IT DOES HIM. ALTHOUGH HE HAS DECIDED TO STAY ABROAD IF RELEASED (WITHOUT TELLING THEM WHAT THEY ALREADY ASSUME), HIS OWN INTENTIONS AS TO CONDUCT AND BEHAVIOR REMAIN CLOUDY: THE MOST SPECIFIC IS A DESIRE TO WORK WITHIN THE LARGEST INTELLECTUAL EMIGRATION IN ROMANIA'S HISTORY TO KEEP ROMANIAN CULTURE ALIVE OVER A BLEAK

PERIOD. WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT HTIS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE A DISSERVICE TO REGIME, HE AGREED, BUT INSISTED AGAIN THAT HIS PRINCIPLES WILL NOT ALLOW HIM TO PARLAY POSSIBILITY INTO ANY KIND OF GUARANTEE OF BENIGN BEHAVIOR.

5. IN MY OWN VIEW, KEY TO RELEASE IS TO FIND OR PROVOKE SOME CONNECTION BETWEEN SECURITY DESIRE TO GET RID OF HIHWIF AT ALL POSSIBLE AND BRZEZINSKI-LUERS DEMARCHES TO ANDREI DESCRIBED IN STATE 107669. IT IS NOT A CONNECTION WHICH ARISES NATURALLY IN ROMANIAN CONTEXT, AND IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO BRING ABOUT. ON OTHER HAND, GEORGESCU IS NERVOUS NOW, AND IN MY JUDGMENT THERE ARE LIMITS TO HIS SANGFROID WHICH IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO EXPLORE TOO FAR. THE BEST WAY TO MAKE CONNECTION, THEREFORE, WOULD BE TWO STEPS, TAKEN TOGETHER IN NEAR FUTURE: IN BUCHAREST, CONFIDENTIAL

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A REMINDER FROM AMBASSADOR TO ANDREI--WHICH AMBASSADOR IS WILL-ING TO MAKE--AND, IN WASHINGTON, A CHAT BETWEEN BILLINGTON AND AMBASSADOR NICOLAE, IN WHICH BILLINGTON SET FORTH HIS REASONS FOR WANTING GEORGESCU AT CENTER, AND HIS UNDERSTANDING OF GEORGESCU'S INTENTIONS, I.E. TO WRITE A BOOK ON FORMATION OF BALKAN INTELLIGENTSIA, TO PURSUE HISTORICAL STUDIES ALONG LINES STATED IN ROMANIA, AND BEYONDQHAT, TO ENGAGE HIMSELF IN INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF ROMANIAN EMIGRE COMMUNITY AS PART OF WHAT HE CONSIDERS A NATIONAL MISSION TO KEEP IT ALIVE OVER A DIFFICULT PERIOD IN ROMANIA'S HISTORY. AGGREY

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BUCHAR03074
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780197-1186
Format: TEL
From: BUCHAREST
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780580/aaaacqea.tel
Line Count: 147
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 45a22aa2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2755860
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
TAGS: OGEN, RO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/45a22aa2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014